JUNE 16, 1917 FIVE CENTS

The Woman Citizen

THE WOMAN'S JOURNAL
FOUNDED 1870

Official Organ of the National American Woman Suffrage Association

The Nationalization of Suffrage

This War to End War

National Suffrage and Party Politics

Mothers Not Being Persons

Referenda on Presidential Suffrage

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"The Woman Citizen"

ITS very name is an omen and a promise of its future—"The Woman Citizen." Suffragists in christening their new journal have looked beyond the short period which will elapse until their fight for equal representation at the polls is won to the years in which their task will be not to get the vote, but to train the new citizen in using the vote, and through them to lead the nation to a new understanding of the vision of democracy.

It is not an easy task. Probably never again will the womanhood of the country be so tractable as it was in the days when the revered "Woman's Journal" was the oracle for all. In those days most women thought of suffrage as children do of fairyland.

The vision blinded their souls with its beauty, and they forgot the practical details. They questioned the inspiration of their leaders little more than children contradict the story-teller who places the fairies behind the rainbow or at the golden door in the sunset. Those were the days when women dreamed and hoped for suffrage, but few dared proclaim their belief from the housetops. Their journal was a heroic thing in spirit, but in fact a pathetic record of a few converts in high places, and much brave argument to which all nodded assent.

Today "The Woman Citizen" takes up the story in the hour of victory. It has a President's words to flaunt on its first page: "We shall fight for the things which we have always carried nearest our hearts—for democracy, for the right of those who submit to authority to have a voice in their own governments." Its editors have the calm certainty in their hearts that ere that President retires from office he will make good those words in reference to women.

When that time comes the task of "The Woman Citizen" will be still to lead and inspire the thought of the women citizens—women who by now are fearfully skilful in thinking their own thoughts without leadership. Already the suffrage world is divided into two apparently irreconcilable camps. Already those who are voters in the Western states have divided along political lines of cleavage devised by men. Nobody may say what influences of the war may tend to separate the women into still more new schools of thought.

It is an unknown and dangerous territory for which "The Woman Citizen" has set sail, but fair winds of public sympathy are speeding her on, and with high hearts and a sturdy hand at the wheel she will come safely to the land of unparalleled opportunity.—*Editorial in New York Tribune, June 5, 1917.*

English Women in War Service

IN England it is estimated that 800,000 women have gone out to work who did not do so before the war. The number of women who have been substituted for men in industries, including controlled firms, but excluding all government establishments, are 376,000. There are 130,000 women employed in government works, including arsenals, dockyards and national shell-filling and projectile factories; 23,000 are engaged in agricultural pursuits and 52,000 in transportation.

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THE WOMAN CITIZEN

Founded June 2, 1917

Continuing the

WOMAN'S JOURNAL

Founded 1870

By LUCY STONE *and* HENRY B. BLACKWELL

as a Weekly Newspaper Devoted to Winning Equal Rights and Especially to Winning Equal Suffrage for Women, and published weekly in Boston, Mass., from 1870 to 1917.

Continuing also the

WOMAN VOTER

Founded 1910

By the WOMAN SUFFRAGE PARTY OF NEW YORK CITY

and the

NATIONAL SUFFRAGE NEWS

Founded 1915

under the name of the "Headquarters News Letter." In succeeding the National Suffrage News, The Woman Citizen becomes the official organ of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, and as such will try to maintain intimate contact between the Association and its two million members throughout the United States.

THE WOMAN CITIZEN is published weekly by the Leslie Woman Suffrage Commission, Inc., in the hope that it may prove a self-perpetuating memorial to Mrs. Frank Leslie's generosity toward the cause of woman suffrage and her faith in woman's irresistible progress.

The members of the Commission are Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, president; Miss Mary Garrett Hay, first vice-president; Mrs. Raymond Robbins, Mrs. Winston Churchill, Mrs. Percy V. Pennybacker, Mrs. Harriet Taylor Upton, Mrs. Thomas Bucklin Wells, Mrs. Arthur L. Livermore.

The editorial offices are at 171 Madison Avenue, New York.

Alice Stone Blackwell is a special contributing editor.

Rose Young is the editor-in-chief Mary Ogden White, Mary Sumner Boyd, Betty Graeme, and Rose Lawless Geyer are associate editors.

The office of publication is at 171 Madison Avenue, New York. The business manager is Florence E. Bate.

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The Woman Citizen

171 Madison Avenue
New York

TABLE OF CONTENTS

June 16, 1917

Vol. I (new style No. 3

(Copyright 1917)

The Nationalization of Suffrage..... 43
This War to End War..... 43
Southern Women as Public Registrars.. 44
Mothers Not Being Persons..... 44
Strong Enough for Any Demands..... 44
Help Wanted..... 45
Editor's Table..... 45
Living Pictures..... 46
Rubbing It In..... 46
Why the Yellow..... 47
Wanted—More Food..... 47
Foes of Democracy..... 47
National Suffrage and Party Politics.... 48
Referenda on Presidential Suffrage.... 49
Rhode Island's Suffrage Prestige..... 50
Tennessee Women and Citizenship..... 51
Campaign in Maine..... 52
Our Own Suffrage Garden..... 52
Pennsylvania's Woman Suffrage Defeat. 53
Directory of the National American Woman Suffrage Association.....54-55
Let America Lead..... 56

To Whom It Concerns

¶ The price asked for *The Woman Citizen* is so low that it is not possible to carry past due subscriptions on its books. Subscribers who are in arrears must pay up or their names must be dropped from our lists.

¶ It is the intention of the management to make *The Woman Citizen* a suffrage organ of essential value to suffragists and to the general public.

¶ It is a lofty but a costly enterprise.

¶ Fairness to all concerned demands that the money, the time, and the talents devoted to it shall result in a better journal for the number who do pay for it, rather than be more widely circulated among those who do not pay for it.

¶ Our subscription lists are now in process of revision. Pay your dues if you wish to continue receiving the journal. Our subscription lists will be put on a strictly business basis from this time forward.

Carrie Chapman Catt

PROGRESS OF THE SUFFRAGE FEDERAL AMENDMENT

KNOWN IN THE

64TH CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES AS

SENATE JOINT RESOLUTION No. 1.

Proposing an Amendment to the Constitution of the United States Conferring upon Women the Right of Suffrage.

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled (two-thirds of each House concurring therein), That the following article be proposed to the legislatures of the several states as an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which, when ratified by three-fourths of the said legislatures, shall be valid as part of said Constitution, namely:

"ARTICLE

"SECTION 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any state on account of sex.

"SEC. 2. The Congress shall have power, by appropriate legislation, to enforce the provisions of this article."

History of Amendment

First introduced in the Senate, January 10, 1878, by Senator A. A. Sargent, of California.

REPORTED FROM COMMITTEE:

In the Senate:

1878, Adverse majority.
1882, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1884, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1886, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1889, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1890, Without recommendation.
1893, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1896, Without recommendation.
1913, Favorable majority.
1914, Favorable majority.
1916, Favorable majority.

VOTED UPON IN THE SENATE:

January 25, 1887, yeas 16, nays 34.
March 19, 1914, yeas 35, nays 34.

IN THE HOUSE REPORTED FROM COMMITTEE:

1883, Favorable majority.
1884, Adverse majority, favorable minority.
1886, Adverse majority, favorable minority.
1890, Favorable majority.
1894, Adverse majority.
1914, Without recommendation.
1916, Without recommendation.

VOTED UPON IN THE HOUSE:

January 12, 1915; yeas 174, nays 208.

Introduced in the 64th Congress

IN THE SENATE:

December 7, 1915, by Senator Sutherland, of Utah, Senator Thomas, of Colorado, and Senator Thompson, of Kansas.
Referred in the Senate to Committee on Woman Suffrage.
Reported in the Senate on January 8, with a favorable recommendation.

IN THE HOUSE:

December 6, 1915, by Representatives Raker, Mondell, Keating, Taylor and Hayden.
Referred in the House to the Judiciary Committee, and by it to its sub-committee No. 1.
Reported to the Judiciary Committee by the sub-committee on February 15, 1916, with recommendation that the Judiciary Committee report it to the House without recommendation. By a vote of 9 to 7, on February 15, the Judiciary Committee returned the amendment to sub-committee No. 1 with instructions to hold until December 14. On March 14, the Judiciary Committee by unanimous consent agreed to take final Committee action on the amendment on March 28. On March 28, the Judiciary Committee by a vote of 10 to 9 postponed indefinitely all Constitutional amendments.

Status:

IN THE SENATE:

On the calendar awaiting action.

IN THE HOUSE:

In the Judiciary Committee.
June 6, the Rules Committee reported favorably on the creation of a Suffrage Committee for the House, action to await disposal of pending war measures.

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The Woman Citizen

THE WOMAN'S JOURNAL

A Journal of Democracy

June 16, 1917

"We shall fight for the things which we have always carried nearest our hearts—for democracy, for the right of those who submit to authority to have a voice in their own governments."

The Nationalization of Suffrage

THERE was a time when Susan B. Anthony might have been said to carry her National Suffrage Association around in the pocket of her old black alpaca.

She sent out the calls for conventions, secured the speakers and hired the halls. Where snap judgment was needed she took it and told her co-workers about it afterward and hoped they could find it in their hearts to forgive her. Which they joyously did.

A great deal of water has run under the mill since those first days. A great deal had run under it before Miss Anthony resigned the leadership of the association, she herself being one of the first to recognize the wide new channel of things, the spread from state to state. But in the end, as in the beginning, Miss Anthony never lost sight of suffrage as a national issue.

It is pre-eminently as a nation-wide issue that suffrage stands before the country today. There is not a state in the Union in which suffrage interest is not clearly, even acutely defined. Reference to the directory of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, printed on another page, will give an idea of the extent of the grip of the question upon the United States of America. State by state, the whole country is lining up for action on it. The association which Miss Anthony carried around in her pocket has become a gigantic organization. The total number of its state headquarters alone is 56. New York City has 18 more all its own. It is the sum of all this that nationalizes suffrage, and that nationalization of the issue is never to be lost sight of. State boundaries fall away before it, for no state is really won for suffrage until the nation is won.

Suffragists are thinking nationally as never before. As never before the Federal Suffrage Amendment is the immediate objective. Laggard, reluctant, conditioned in its coming, last week's appointment of a House Committee on suffrage yet scored another forward step in the national suffrage program and marked a signal victory for the tactics of the Congressional Committee of the National American Woman Suffrage Association. It was due to the initiative of the Committee's Chairman, Mrs. Maud Wood Park, and her co-worker, Mrs. Helen Gardener, of tried and proved political sagacity, that the House Committee was secured. With it suffrage should fare better in the future than it has in the past and the inevitable passage of the federal suffrage amendment be the sooner assured.

With it the House should be the sooner convicted of the necessity of lining up for this essential measure, irrespective of Party. Running true to historical form, the Rules Committee was able to condition a delay of action on its own report to create a House Suffrage Committee. Not until measures pending in behalf of the war to assure democracy abroad are disposed of may American women hope to see their government establish facilities to assure democracy at home.

This War to End War

NO one is likely to accuse the women of America of having sought or wanted war. There is nothing in war as a "game" that appeals to women. Except for the President of the United States nobody has received as much vituperative contumely for holding off from war as women have. Backed to the wall, Mr. Wilson took, standing, every indignity that could be heaped upon him while he sought for a solution of the international problem that would save America from the war scourge. But he had to give in to the sweeping and terrible inevitability of the tide that he sought long and faithfully to stem. And women have had to give in. War is here. Our hopes, our gods, our prayers have not availed. No jockeying with the pacifist past can save the world now. Only the straightest, bravest forward riding will save now. However the war may have been intrigued in the beginning, by capital, by secret diplomacy, war is here. And superior to all intrigue of either diplomacy or capital is an ideal that is sustaining the world today—the ideal of democracy. Right way or wrong way to go about saving democracy in the beginning, democracy is in to the hilt and has to cut its way out. Obnoxious as war is to women there can be no half-hearted endorsement by women of America's stand in this war. Of every mother's daughter it is required that she stand and deliver in loyalty, in service, in money, in life itself. The Administration is not proving picayunish in its demands on America's women. The women will not fail it. Nor will they fail to hold before it, as they serve and pay and die for America, the crass bias with which this great undemocratic country professes democracy so long as women are excluded from "the right of those who submit to authority to have a voice in their own governments," the crass injustice, the littleness, the weakness of asking and receiving illimitable support from women while denying political recognition to women.

For on one thing women are resolved, there will be no more decreeing of war without woman's voice in the decree.

Southern Women as Public Registrars

EVER since June 5 officials and press and public have been loud in their praise of the women of Jackson, Tenn., who served their country as public registrars that day. There were fourteen of the women and they shouldered every responsibility on an exactly equal footing with men. In the result not a penny has to be certified for payment on their account, work and expense being their free-will offering to the state.

In another column will be found a vivid account of this interesting social experiment, given by Miss Sue S. White, Recording Secretary of the Tennessee Equal Suffrage Association, Inc., the very active southern suffrage organization presided over by Mrs. Guilford Dudley.

Without a particle of difficulty, smoothly, skillfully, tactfully, these southern women have buried in a deep grave the ghost of an old-time conviction that woman would have to come down from her southern pedestal in order to render public political service. There was no coming down. On the contrary, there was a pulling up. There was no rubbing of the bloom off the peach. On the contrary, southern woman seems never before to have engaged the chivalrous attention of southern man so completely.

One admirable feature of the Jackson situation was the response of the negro women to do their bit in the handling of their own people. Their faithfulness and help resulted in special credit being accorded them in public estimation.

To those who know southern women this word of the skill and efficiency with which the group of brilliant Jackson women fitted their talents to public service in public places is not startling. Like English women, southern women have a rather particular heritage of interest in abstract political and civic questions. As the South wakes to the concrete availability of this interest, the admirable capacity of her women is bound to come more and more into play.

Is it too much to hope that men everywhere are coming to see and believe that what is worthy in humanity, in womanhood, is not lightly subject to circumstance and environment, but able to stand and withstand, and still be human, still be woman?

Mothers Not Being Persons

THE Board of Trade in the town of Pinnacle has discovered the town babies. It bustled about at a great rate last week getting up a plan for their improvement. But as Pinnacle is-now-and-ever-shall-be-world-without-end a man regulated town, the Board of Trade never once thought of anything so effeminate as appointing mothers on its program. It was perfectly competent to teach women how to be mothers with one hand tied behind its back. Now the mothers of Pinnacle are by long habit non-resistant in civic matters. But when they were bid to go to three meetings a day for seven days and listen to four men speakers at a session tell how to manage their own special job, they became "conscientious objectors" and refrained from being drafted.

Thus it happened that the gentleman who raged at the selfish heartlessness of bottle feeding, and gave detailed instructions in nature's own infant-food methods, poured forth his soul to a scattered handful of bachelors and high school children coralled with difficulty to make up a last minute audience.

The Board of Trade is still grumbling because "You never can get anything done right in Pinnacle."

Put specialists in the job of Motherhood into your city plans next time, gentlemen of the Board of Trade, and see if you don't come out better. Mothers may not be persons out your way, but you will have a hard time getting them to accept this verdict when it comes to bettering their babies.

Strong Enough for Any Demands

THE New York State Woman Suffrage Party is giving its services from June 11 to 25 to Governor Whitman for the taking of the military census. This is a census of state resources, and will include every man and woman between the ages of 16 and 50.

Two outstanding features of the work of the New York State Suffrage Party will not soon be forgotten—their alacrity and their preparedness. Scarcely had the bill for this census passed the legislature before Mrs. Norman de R. Whitehouse, State Chairman, offered the well-oiled machinery of the Party to the Governor. Promptly a suffrage organizer of experience and ability, Mrs. Jeannette Sterling Greve, was loaned by the suffragists to Adjutant General Stotesbury's office in Albany, and became a field secretary on Miss Esther Lape's staff of workers, going from county to county for the purpose of lining up resources.

In two counties, Westchester and Nassau, the entire work of the census is in the hands of suffrage leaders. Mrs. William J. Belknap of Oscawanna presented a plan to the chairman of the census committee of Westchester County Commission of General Safety offering the services of the suffragists without cost to state or county. The plan was so able in its details, that the commission could do nothing less than accept it.

In Nassau County, the Home Defense Committee's chairman looked on the smooth-running suffrage organization and found it good. He therefore coralled its chairman, Mrs. Frederick Greene, and turned the entire census-taking over to her forces. Mrs. Greene's plan of procedure sounds like the quintessence of efficiency. It follows election district lines wherever possible, so as to confuse the men of the county as little as possible.

Local suffrage headquarters have been offered in almost every county for registration centers. Much of the work will be house-to-house visiting, but in spite of the fact that they are in the midst of their own political campaign with a suffrage referendum at the polls in November pressing heavily upon them, over-burdened suffragists gallantly assumed the task, knowing only too well what such a canvass means. In Westchester, for instance, 2,000 women have undertaken to visit a total of 60,000 families. In Manhattan alone, 232 election districts will be covered by the women of the Woman Suffrage Party of the City of New York, under the direction of Miss Mary Garrett Hay, chairman. Mr. Ernest Goodrich of the Municipal Research Bureau, who has charge of the census work of the city, has appointed Mrs. F. Louis Slade, chairman of the War Service Committee of the City Party to have charge of all work done by women and

women's organizations. When it is remembered that New York State holds about a tenth of the population of the country, it may be seen that the census taking will be no light matter.

The New York State Woman Suffrage Party has been at full-speed ahead for five years. It is on the last lap of a second consecutive political campaign. It has been forced by the intensity of these campaigns to become a working force, writing efficiency large all across the state. Its party form follows every political curve and indentation of New York. There is no cross-roads, where its trained workers are not on guard. This is why at a moment's notice, it could send out an S. O. S. call and have 3,000, 4,000, 5,000 official women at attention. This is why even from remote Essex in the Adirondack Mountains, Mrs. Katherine Notman, one of the old guard among suffrage leaders, could calmly flash back an immediate answer to state headquarters in response to the demand for census takers: "The Woman Suffrage Party is strong enough to satisfy any demands which the League for Home Defense may make."

Help Wanted

IT is to be remembered that the *Woman Citizen* is neither a magazine nor a newspaper and yet it must, in some measure, fill the functions of both.

It wants to present to its readers certain lively bits of information that only the National American Woman Suffrage Association is in a position to be possessed of, and it wants to transmit information that only the state suffrage organizations are in a position to hand on to the "National" to be transmitted. The "National" is so close at hand that the *Woman Citizen* can close a grip on it at any moment and make it stand and deliver its news. But the state organizations are far away, many of them. For their state news the *Woman Citizen* must depend upon their presidents and press chairmen.

In the first two numbers it was not possible to make the news function of the magazine adequately representative. But in this third number the balance is fairly struck, and suffrage news from North, South, East and West will be found in another place.

The columns of the *Woman Citizen* will be wide open to suffrage news from every state, without partiality. But to do justice to every state we must have the co-operation of every state organization. Let each state president instruct her press chairman to see to it that the *Woman Citizen* receives all news of special state suffrage activities, personality sketches, and photographs of the interesting people who are forward in state suffrage work, suffrage legislative action, etc. Those presidents and press chairmen who neglect this are sure to be chagrined by an unfortunate comparison between the showing made by their own state and other states. And the fault will not be the *Woman Citizen's.*

Mrs. F. Louis Slade, chairman of the War Service Committee of the New York City Woman Suffrage Party, announces that five thousand of the necessary ten thousand dollars for the Y. M. C. A. unit for the Niagara camp has already been raised by her committee.

Editor's Table

BRANTING and another Socialist named Wennerstroem continue to demand parliamentary suffrage for women in Sweden.

Women having been assured of their right to vote on local option elections in Indiana rejoiced prematurely when it was announced at Wheatfield that the "drys" had ousted the only saloon there. The following day their votes were thrown out. This is a good illustration of what would happen in case of a suffrage referendum to women, which some opponents of suffrage have characterized as the "fair, orderly, and just method of procedure." In other words, first ascertain by a vote of the women that the majority of them desire a thing, then pitch the result into the discard.

Senator C. L. McNary, who succeeds Harry Lane as United States Senator from Oregon, has announced that he will work on behalf of national woman suffrage, national prohibition, and any movement to suppress gambling in the necessities of life.

Charles W. Jewett, candidate for mayor of Indianapolis, Ind., has pledged himself to "see that women are placed in responsible positions in all departments where their knowledge and peculiar fitness will be of benefit to the city." Mr. Jewett favors courts for women with women judges and officers, women sanitary inspectors, matrons of public institutions and a woman on the board of health.

Pointing out that suffragists stand for equal pay for equal work and that war would throw women into men's jobs, the Central Labor Union of Omaha has gone on record as opposing any attempt to repeal the law passed by the recent Legislature giving partial suffrage to Nebraska women.

Was it design or plain idiocy, ask Florida women, that led the experienced business men of Aurantia, Fla., to vote equal municipal suffrage and an entirely feminine government for their town without providing for taxation for the conduct of business? The women, therefore, have to make gold bricks without any gilding and carry a government by voluntary subscriptions, besides serving without pay.

The headquarters of the South Carolina Equal Suffrage League were thrown open in Columbia to friends and the public on Friday afternoon, May 23, and for two hours, during which time the suffragists were at home, the rooms were filled to their utmost capacity with visitors. Mrs. W. C. Cathcart, supervisor of headquarters, appeals to local leagues for donations of a couch, easy chairs, bookshelves, bookcases, pictures, table scarfs or money to purchase same.

Mrs. Amelia Woodall, president of the Atlanta Equal Suffrage Association, lost all her own personal effects in the destruction of her sister's home in the recent Atlanta fire, but as soon as it was daylight and she could reach a telephone she called all the members of her organization and appointed them a committee of the whole to work with the Red Cross for the immediate relief of those who passed through the fiery furnace.

Living Pictures

HOW to raise money for suffrage work is a perennial problem. This question was the subject of a symposium at the recent Mississippi Valley Suffrage Conference. Among the many plans set forth, Mrs. Mary Cooper, of Kansas, described one that she has found particularly successful. It is her own invention, though she acknowledged that she borrowed the idea from the movies.

Mrs. Cooper has been raising money for the Olno suffragists by getting up performances of an Americanized version of "How the Vote Was Won," in which American local color is substituted for the strongly British local color of the original. The novel idea, by which the receipts have been greatly swelled, is to have the play preceded by a series of "living pictures." Each of these tableaux is an advertisement. The merchants are willing to pay handsomely for them, as soon as they understand the idea.

The merchant tells Mrs. Cooper what he wants to advertise, and she arranges the tableau, and provides the performers from among the local suffragists. The larger the number of persons who take part, the more of their friends buy tickets, and the greater is the local interest aroused in the evening's entertainment.

One "living-picture" that proved very popular showed two contrasted breakfasts. It was arranged for a firm that sold electrical appliances for household convenience. The stage represented a farm kitchen. The farmer was seen waiting impatiently for his breakfast. His wife came in, hurried, nervous and dishevelled, went through the dumb sham of cooking chops and burning them, and he found them uneatable and went off very cross. In the second scene, the husband and wife were seen sitting together at the breakfast table, calm and cheerful, toasting bread with an electric toaster, making coffee with an electric lamp, etc. It was so arranged that the audience could smell the coffee and the toast. After breakfast the husband showed his satisfaction by the gayety and affection of his gestures.

One living picture advertised a hardware store. The stage presented a counter of the store and an exhibition of aluminum ware going on, with girls showing off all the different utensils to interested customers. A jeweller's advertisement was a table covered with glittering wedding presents, and the bride standing beside it in her wedding dress and veil. The tableau advertising a bank showed the interior of the bank, with all sorts of persons, old and young, coming to make deposits or to draw out their money. (In that town, a rival bank was much aggrieved because by some oversight it had not been asked to advertise also.) A store that was to hold a special sale of men's bathrobes had fifteen or sixteen men file out upon the stage and group themselves before the audience, each wearing a different kind of bathrobe. Ice cream and candy stores are advertised by tableaux of children eating their wares, and seeming greatly to enjoy the good things; a photographer by a studio where the sitter moves and makes a fuss, and other laughable things happen, or sometimes by a little boy trying to take the photographs of other children; a dealer in victrolas, by good dancers dancing gracefully to the music; a furniture store by a room prettily furnished and a young matron serving tea there to her friends from a tea table, with a sewing girl sitting at work at one side, and pulling out drawer after drawer of a little sewing table.

In one town a druggist was about to hold a "one cent sale" i. e., a sale where, if you buy a bottle of anything at the regular price, by paying one cent more you can get two bottles. The living picture represented his store, with a sale going on, people crowding up to buy, and bearing off all sorts of objects, with the prices plainly marked upon them. When a drug store is shown upon the stage, it is an effective part of the decorations to have two girls, one with scanty hair and the other with a great deal, stand side by side with their backs to the audience, as an advertisement of a hair tonic—"before and after using."

These living pictures pay the merchants even better than advertising in the press, because an advertisement in the newspaper meets the eye along with many other things, while for five minutes the attention of the whole audience is concentrated upon the tableau. An easel stands at the side of the stage, and the name of each firm is displayed there while its exhibit is given. Mrs. Cooper has relays of helpers ready waiting, one set to clear the stage and the other to bring on the next picture; and she has been able to put on fifteen pictures in an hour.

The suffrage play follows and the whole entertainment closes within a reasonable time.

Anyone wishing further particulars can write to Mrs. Cooper, in care of Mrs. Harriet Taylor Upton, Warren, O.

The idea is capital; and it can be utilized by anyone getting up a play, whether for suffrage, or war relief, or any other good object.

A. S. B.

Rubbing It In

THE war is bringing new strength to all the old arguments for equal suffrage, besides adding many fresh ones.

Take the old slogan, "Taxation without representation is tyranny." Except where a good reason can be shown to the contrary, everyone has an equitable right to be consulted in regard to his own concerns. The laws he must obey and the taxes he must pay are matters which closely concern him; and this truth is going to be rubbed into men and women alike, by the new war taxes.

The opponents of equal suffrage have answered this argument by declaring that fewer women than men are taxpayers. The suffragists have pointed out that everybody pays indirect taxes on almost everything. The meaning of indirect taxes is now going to be brought home to the public, with new force. After this it will be hard to convince any woman that she pays no tax.

But the fundamental reason for equal suffrage is not the payment of taxes. Benjamin Franklin, or some other old worthy, said, "Even if a man has no property on which he is taxed, his life and liberty are things of some importance." The close connection of government with life and liberty is just now being vividly shown.

The pure milk question used to be quoted to prove that politics is "not outside the home but inside the baby." Now government action is going to settle the question what sort of solid food the average citizen will have inside him, or whether he will have any food at all.

Wise or unwise government has always affected the public welfare profoundly, but now it is doing this openly and visibly, and so conspicuously that the blindest can see it. Many women have felt as if government had not much to do with them. But, as Lucy Stone said half a century ago, "The government can take any mother's son out to be shot, and afterwards it puts its bloody hand in her pocket to help pay the bills." She may send her boy out with enthusiasm to fight for his country and for world-democracy; but in whatever land she lives, and whether she approves of the war or not, she must send him if the government demands him.

Napoleon said women ought not to interest themselves in politics. A brilliant Frenchwoman answered, "Sir, when women are liable to have their heads cut off, it is natural that they should wish to know the reason why."

Every war, however just it may be, necessarily carries with it a great number of painful accompaniments which bring home to the average man and woman the close connection between government and daily life—a connection that many of them do not half realize in time of peace. If war does not literally cut off women's heads it cuts off their hopes, their liberties, their means of livelihood, their food supply, and their children. They accept these sacrifices whole-heartedly when they feel them to be necessary; but they naturally want to know the reason why. War stimulates in women both the study of public questions and the wish for a vote; and it stimulates in men the sense of justice toward women, and the conviction that, since women must share the burdens, they should also share the ballot.

That is one reason for the unprecedented advance which the equal suffrage movement has made, during the present war, and the end of that advance is not yet. A. S. B.

Why the Yellow?

SOME of the younger suffragists have lately asked when and and why yellow was chosen as the color of the National American Woman Suffrage Association.

It was done when the friends of equal rights were rejoicing over the granting of municipal woman suffrage in Kansas in 1887. This was the first large victory that the cause had won in this country for nearly twenty years. After the granting of suffrage by Wyoming in 1869 and by Utah in 1870, there was a long period during which the school ballot was given in a number of States, but nothing bigger. Therefore, when so important a state as Kansas took a long step forward, we felt very happy about it.

Kansas is "the Sunflower State." There was a saying in those days "Woman Suffrage follows the advance of civilization, as the sunflower follows the wheel-track and the plough." Yellow was chosen because it was the sunflower color. The Suffrage Association adorned its letter paper with sunflowers, and the suffragists took to wearing little bows of yellow ribbon. When Dr. Anna H. Shaw, Lucy E. Anthony and I compiled a book of suffrage readings and recitations (now long out of print), we called it "The Yellow Ribbon Speaker."

Yellow was Lucy Stone's favorite color; but that was merely a happy coincidence. It had nothing to do with its choice by the Association.

Today the suffrage color is more appropriate than ever, since, it may well stand for the golden dawn of equal suffrage that is now breaking over all the world.

A. S. B.

Foes of Democracy

THE opponents of equal rights for women are at bottom enemies of democracy. Most of them do not know it; but the fact crops out on all occasions.

Now that the House of Commons in England has voted for woman suffrage 329 to 40, the opponents in America are pinning all their hopes to the slim chance that the House of Lords will defeat the bill. Some of them are openly and shamelessly expressing this hope in the press. On any other subject, they would look upon it as an outrage for the non-representative upper chamber to defy the expressed will of the representatives of the people; but any means seem right to them that may delay the coming of women suffrage. They have lost all hope of ultimately preventing it.

A. S. B.

Wanted, More Food

AMONG the many good things done by the Suffrage Association, nothing is better than its nation-wide campaign to increase the production of food. People still fail to realize how great the need next winter is going to be. If the world is to be fed, America will have to feed it. The time for planting is not yet quite over, but it soon will be. Every woman who controls even a small patch of ground should have it planted. When a miserly old man, in "Ivanhoe," is preparing to treat for the ransom of his daughter, who has been carried off, a friend urges him to be liberal in his offers, and adds: "The gold thou shalt spare in her cause will hereafter give thee as much agony as if it were poured molten down thy throat." The ground that we could have planted and did not, will be a cause of bitter regret to us before a year is out. Every ounce of food is going to be of value. Let every woman heed the appeal of the National American Woman Suffrage Association for both food conservation and food increase.

A. S. B.

The Bullet Before the Ballot

TWO hundred girl students of the Petrograd Technical Institute have entered their names on the rolls of a female regiment raised by Lieutenant Butchkareff. The aim is immediately to start to the front and to fight in all respects under the same conditions as men.

Scores of girls and women, anxious to fight, appeared at the offices of the League of Equal Rights for Women, which had expressed its approval of Lieutenant Butchkareff's plan.

The League is the Russian affiliation of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance of which Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt is president.

Russian women are waiting to receive the franchise according to the most trustworthy advices from Petrograd. Meantime they are ready to receive the bullet with a loyalty that must prove very destructive to the ballot-for-the-bullet argument of opponents of woman suffrage.

National Suffrage and Party Politics

Special Correspondence from Washington.

THE tables are turned and suffrage is now definitely a party asset. The past week in Congress has established this fact beyond the shadow of a doubt. Leaders on both sides who once had to be sought and persuaded to support the federal amendment were suddenly disclosed contesting for the initiative in bringing it forward. So determined, indeed, was the rivalry that there was danger for a time that the amendment would be forced to premature vote on party lines, and thus defeated. For neither party has votes enough to pass it as a party measure. And each has votes enough to defeat it if the other attempts to pass it as a party measure.

Leaders Seeking Party Issues

To read the situation correctly, it must be clearly understood in the first place that both parties are fretting under their obligations of non-partisanship on the war measures. The leaders of both sides, with eyes on the elections a year hence, are looking for party issues. Suffrage seems to them a good one—so good that neither party is willing to let the other take the lead in suffrage legislation.

In the second place, the joint resolution embodying our amendment is now before the Judiciary Committee, but this committee has shown no disposition to report it to the House. The House rules provide for the discharge of a committee from consideration of a given measure by a majority vote of the House, but the National American Woman Suffrage Association had not asked for this action, believing it to be fruitless at this time because of the agreement of the House leaders and the Democratic caucus not to consider any legislation except emergency war measures. The National Association also thinks it advantageous to bring the suffrage resolution before the House, when the right time comes, through the special woman suffrage committee for which we are asking and which will be created soon.

The Republican Move

To put the resolution on the calendar, however, would in itself be a desirable thing from the suffrage viewpoint, and Minority Leader Mann made a motion several weeks ago to discharge the Judiciary Committee from consideration of the suffrage resolution. This motion, if carried, would automatically put our measure on the calendar. But the fact is that the discharge calendar, upon which Mr. Mann's motion was entered, is very rarely reached, and the Democrats appear to have attached no importance to this move of the minority leader.

It proved, however, as Mr. Mann undoubtedly had observed, although the Democrats apparently had not, that the rare thing was about to happen, and the discharge calendar would be reached last Wednesday, June 6. Not only this, but there was very little on the calendar ahead of Mr. Mann's motion. So the Republicans made ready to surprise the Democrats, thus depriving them of the initiative in suffrage legislation and gaining credit for the move themselves. Mr. Mann does not seem to have intended to bring the resolution to a vote or to give publicity to the plan. But the newspapers found it out and published it, and thus the Democrats had opportunity for a counter-play.

So alert were both parties by Tuesday that a special call was sent out by each side to its members to be in their seats at roll call on

MRS. MAUD WOOD PARK,
Chairman of Congressional Committee of the N. A. W. S. A.

Wednesday. It was rumored that the Democrats proposed to "go one better" than the Republicans and bring the suffrage amendment itself to a vote that day. This proposition was actually made by some of the Democratic leaders—a fact which leaves no doubt at all as to the national political status of the suffrage question. But the fact points also with equal clearness to the fate we might expect if our amendment were allowed to become a party issue. Support from both parties is necessary for a two-thirds majority. The moment one party succeeds in making our question a party measure we lose support in the opposing party, and consequently fall short of the two-thirds majority. It is just this danger that the National American Woman Suffrage Association has foreseen and sought to avoid by its strictly non-partisan policy.

The situation called for quick work from National Suffrage headquarters, and Mrs. Catt and the Congressional Committee of the National American Woman Suffrage Association succeeded in making it clear to the leaders that our amendment would not receive favorable consideration if brought forward in the way proposed. Democratic suffragists agreed that suffrage must not be sacrificed to party advantage, and undertook to find other means to offset the Republican program. It was not obvious at first what could be done, however. Adjournment was suggested, but to adjourn on a suffrage issue would not dispose of the Democratic dilemma. Another means was then devised, as may be seen in the Congressional Record for that date, and it worked even better than was expected.

A motion was made from the Democratic side of the House to suspend the rules and pass a totally irrelevant and unimportant little bill providing for the erection of a statue to President Buchanan. Unexpectedly a Republican member, who evidently had not understood the Republican plan, opposed this motion on the ground that the House, and especially the Democrats, by their caucus vote, were bound to consider only war legislation at this special session. So admirably did this play into the hands of the Democrats that the Majority Leader, Mr. Kitchin promptly rose, agreed with the Republican member, and followed his statement with a motion to adjourn—on a perfectly safe proposition in no way related to suffrage. This motion was carried, and the danger of a vote on the suffrage amendment was averted.

The Rules Committee Votes

Meantime our suffrage committee resolution was being considered in the Rules Committee, and a vote was taken on Wednesday morning, before the House convened. Representative Cantrill of Kentucky, a Democrat, made a motion to report favorably, but owing to the loss of some votes in the committee by reason of the picketing it was not possible to get a majority for Representative Cantrill's motion without amendment deferring action until "the pending war legislation is disposed of." The vote was 6 to 5, and was non-partisan, three of the ayes being Democrats and three Republicans.

The Congressional situation on the whole, it will be seen, is improved by the events of the past week. The resolution to create a suffrage committee has been reported to the House, with excellent chances of passing. If we obtain this committee the federal amendment itself, now before the Judiciary Committee, will be transferred to the new suffrage committee, where it will undoubtedly receive much more consideration, and will also be removed from the uncertainties of its present situation in the judiciary.

But more important than any other feature of the Congressional situation at present is the fact of the recent contest of the parties for the initiative in suffrage legislation. The issue is a real one in the present Congress.

Referenda on Presidential Suffrage

IN February Ohio's Legislature granted presidential suffrage to women. Just within the time limit prescribed petitions for a referendum of the question were filed by certain interests opposed to woman suffrage. Under the law, people wishing to refer a question to the people are obliged to secure the names of 6 per cent. of the voters of the state, half of which must come from half the counties, that is 44, "half of the designated per cent. from each of these counties." Petitions were filed from 74 counties, bearing 91,191 names. No names were secured in 14 of the counties. In 8 of the 74 counties the required 3 per cent. was not obtained, leaving 65 counties, 21 more than the number required by law, where the per cent. was obtained. Nearly one-fourth of the whole petition was secured in Cincinnati. Suffragists in all counties are now verifying these petitions. In Trumbull county 15 petitions were filed containing 584 names. Twelve of these petitions were circulated by proprietors of saloons; five of these men, not being able to write, made their marks in attesting the petitions. Two of them were circulated by T. F. McElroy of Ottawa, Putnam county, according to his statement a paid employe of the Ohio Society Opposed to Suffrage. No petition was circulated in Warren, the county seat. Warren is dry. No petition was circulated in any part of the county which is dry. Niles and Girard (both wet) were the towns chosen for the getting of the names. The reports of other counties are anxiously awaited. It is believed by suffrage workers that the antis can no longer deny their partnership with the wet leaders.

No Woman Circulated Petition

So far as it is known no woman circulated a petition, whereas in our referendum campaign the large petition, 131,000 names, was secured almost entirely by the voluntary work of women.

Validity of the petitions recently circulated in Portsmouth calling for a referendum vote on the suffrage bill passed by the Ohio Legislature, is also attacked in a petition the Scioto County Suffrage Association has filed with the election board.

The petition filed with the board sets forth that:

"In accordance with our rights and duties as citizens, we have made an examination of the Referendum Petitions gathered in Scioto county by the association opposed to Woman Suffrage which are now before you for approval. We find many irregularities existing therein, and we respectfully lay them before your attention in the enclosed report. We beg leave to call to your especial consideration the following facts:

"1. That James Barber is affiant to six of the petitions and that he swore that he received nothing for his services. On his six petitions we were unable to find 120 of the names among the lists of electors, in addition to other irregularities which are noted in detail in our report.

"2. That Elmer Ottino is affiant to ten of the petitions. On five of Mr. Ottino's petitions we find that he has erased the name of another affiant and written his own over it. In a few cases the erasure is so badly done that the name of the first affiant can be deciphered beneath his own. Also we observe from the dates of Mr. Ottino's petitions that he witnessed signatures daily in Portsmouth from March 27 to April 7 (inclusive) and from April 11 to April 19 (inclusive).

"3. That John H. Emmert is affiant to two petitions and we observe fifteen names thereon not found by us in the lists of electors. On both Mr. Emmert's petitions we find a great similarity in many of the blanks after the signatures. Petition No. 7 is especially marked by a prevalence of backhand.

"4. That William Zeisler is notary to twenty-three of the petitions and John Hall to one.

"5. That sixty-eight names on the other petitions are not found in the lists of electors.

"6. That all the petitions are marked by scores of irregularities, such as the use of ditto marks, names of wards, precincts, dates, counties, towns written in a handwriting other than that of the signers, sometimes over ditto marks, use of black pencil, cases where the signatures in black pencil have been traced over with an indelible, precincts and wards written over or not filled in, and other irregularities too numerout to mention here, which, in our understanding of the laws and the Attorney General's ruling governing referendum petitions, invalidate the signatures.

"7. That Sam Schloss signed twice—see petition 18, No. 19, and again on petition 20, No. 3. Also Lee Culp—see petition 13, No. 22, also petition 8, No. 22. Also Leftie de Berrienne—see petition 22, Nos. 7 and 15.

"Summon James Barber!"

"We respectfully request the board to summon James Barber and examine him with regard to his statement as to having received nothing for his services and also to explain the large number of names on his petitions which cannot be found in the lists of electors. We also request that Elmer Ottino be summoned and asked to explain the erasures of affiant's signatures on five of his petitions—also that he be questioned with regard to the dates on which he was present in the town of Portsmouth—also that he be asked to explain the differences in handwriting between the Scioto and Portsmouth and the corresponding signatures in a great many instances.

"We also request that John H. Emmert be summoned and asked to explain the differences in handwriting between the signatures on his petitions and the corresponding dates and residences in many instances. We also request that William Zeisler be summoned and asked if he swore all twenty-three affiants to the twenty-three petitions in person or in the absence of said affiants.

"It is our understanding of the law governing the signing of referendum petitions as construed by the Attorney General of the State of Ohio that a signer must fill out himself with his own hand all the blanks following his signature and that any other procedure invalidates the signature. If that is true, then we respectfully direct your attention to the many signatures which should be thrown out for this reason. The erasures of Elmer Ottino are a flagrant violation of the law, and we believe the five petitions on which the erasures occurred should be thrown out. With regard to the large number of names on the petitions which could not be found on the lists of electors, we are willing to concede that some of the signers may have changed their places of residence since being registered as voters or that the lists of electors may be incomplete; but, on the other hand, we are sure that many of the signers are minors, transients or not registered, otherwise disqualified and therefore not entitled to vote nor sign petitions of this sort.

"We Therefore Pray"

"We therefore pray that you carefully compare the names of the electors who sign this petition with the registration lists. If any names appear upon this petition which are not upon the registration lists we pray that you make a note thereof in your report to the Secretary of State. We also pray that you scrutinize this petition for repetition of signatures, illegal signatures and for the omission of any of the formal or other requisites set forth in the constitution, and that if you find any signature or signatures insufficient you shall make a note opposite such signature or signatures to that effect and notify the person or persons who solicited such signatures, or other person or persons interested in the circulation of the part of the petition containing such signatures, of the insufficiency of the same.

Respectfully,
"CHARLOTTE BAXTON,
"MARTHE DEVER MOULTON,
"LEONA LABOLD."

Ohio suffrage workers therefore believe that once and for all the community of interest between Ohio opponents of suffrage, be they women or liquor men, will be shown.

In North Dakota efforts to secure a referendum on presidential suffrage failed utterly. Although less than 11,000 names were required, only a few thousand names were filed with the Secretary of State. It appears that there was considerable difficulty to secure even the names that were obtained.

Rhode Island's Suffrage Prestige

By Elizabeth Upham Yates

Honorary President of the Rhode Island Equal Suffrage Association

Ever since the organization of the Rhode Island Woman Suffrage Association, in 1868, suffrage propaganda has gone on by the unceasing endeavors of noble and gifted women and men. Rhode Island was the first Eastern State to submit an amendment for full suffrage. The measure having passed two successive Legislatures with substantial majorities, it was submitted to the people in 1887, but the campaign was premature, and it was overwhelmingly defeated at the polls.

A Presidential suffrage bill was first introduced into the Rhode Island Legislature in 1892 by Mrs. Jeannette S. French, who drew up the bill. But it was then a new proposition and received but scant consideration by the Legislature. In recent years it has been repeatedly introduced. Mr. Henry B. Blackwell, that great seer, was frequently invited to speak for it before legislative committees and ably urged its claims upon unappreciative audiences.

ELIZABETH UPHAM YATES

The writer, who as National Chairman of Presidential Suffrage had urged that it was the preliminary step that should precede any attempt for full suffrage, during her presidency of the Rhode Island Woman Suffrage Association worked assiduously to awaken an apprehension of its potentialities and practical value in her constituents, and would not endorse any bill presented for full suffrage during her term of office.

The increasing suffrage sentiment, manifest the world around during the past decade, has been also much in evidence in Rhode Island. It has found expression in the organization of a College Suffrage League by the efforts of Mrs. George D. Gladding and the organization of the Woman Suffrage Party by Mrs. James W. Algeo. These combined with the original association in 1915 under the name of the "Rhode Island Equal Suffrage Asspciation" and thereby greatly increased the efficiency of the work.

The far-reaching effect of the Presidential campaign of 1916 that marks a new epoch in the woman suffrage movement, when every political party and every political candidate endorsed the principle of political equality, was of incalculable advantage to the cause in Rhode Island. The Republican delegation at Chicago voted solidly for the suffrage plank, though some of its members did not believe in the principle for "home consumption," and the Democratic delegation likewise endorsed the plank at St. Louis. The Republican party of Rhode Island incorporated the national plank in its platform, although it had hitherto stoutly resisted all appeals for such recognition. This was followed at the Convention by an eloquent endorsement of the principle by United States Senator Colt, a man of great influence, who had never before made any pronouncement in its favor.

The post-election results were also favorable to our interests. The Republican majority in Rhode Island, with the exception of a very popular Governor, was greatly reduced, and for the first time in over fifty years a Democratic Senator was elected to Congress.

Among the Democrats in this State woman suffrage had gained greatly in favor because it was generally conceded that Wilson was re-elected by Western women voters.

Some members of the Executive Committee of the suffrage association were so impressed with the favorable situation that they were desirous of putting in a bill for full suffrage, which would require a three-fifths majority at the polls. Knowing that it would surely result in overwhelming defeat, the writer urged that Presidential suffrage was the only safe and sane measure, and recommended that no bill for full suffrage, by whomsoever introduced, should be recognized. This program made victory possible.

Although the Chairman of the Legislative Committee had been greatly opposed to the Presidential suffrage bill, when it was adopted she loyally brought her unusual political acumen and energy to its support in full measure, and the President, Mrs. Agnes M. Jenks, worked indefatigably for its passage throughout the whole term of the Legislature. Miss Mabel Orgleman, State organizer, rendered very effective service, and, aided by other women of wit and wisdom, a most efficient lobby was conducted. And, with the endorsement of the Governor and the loyal support of the leaders of both political parties, the bill passed by a large majority.

MISS LOU DANIELS

No Vote, No Tax

This spring Vermont granted municipal suffrage to women, and it leaves those who know about Grafton's tax collector and Miss Lou Daniels wondering just how much the local combination had to do with securing the statewide result. For years Miss Daniels has "made a demonstration" in Grafton every time she has been called on to pay taxes for the support of a government in which she has been allowed no voice. For years the tax collector of Grafton has penned laborious letters to "Dear Friend Miss Lou" at tax-time, "to see if you would pay your taxes before meating," because "i would give most enything to clean up my books before then."

For years Miss Daniels has refused to pay one dollar voluntarily, letting the law take its course over her protest, as an advertisement of her insistence that taxation of women without votes for women is tyranny. They sold her stocks, they coerced her taxes, and still she wrote to the worried collectors:

"I have been simply a passive tax-resister because the Town stood at Montpelier for keeping its women out of the vote, that the men might retain the upper hand to take liberties with the law themselves, but not permit a non-voter to do likewise. If I had been a voter they would never have dared take the course they did. Men have always played their little games on women but a stop-order is in sight—VOTES.

(*Continued on page* 53)

Tennessee Women and the Duties of Citizenship

By Sue S. White, Rec. Sec'y of the Tennessee Equal Suffrage Association

SOME of the most overworked arguments against equal suffrage, especially in the South, were refuted in the work of registration of June 5. These were the features that obtained in Jackson, Tennessee, a typical southern town of about 20,000 population, and equally as true of other towns and cities:

Under the registration regulations, the duty devolved upon the Sheriff to "appoint suitable persons as registrars in each voting precinct." Among the number appointed within the city limits, our Sheriff saw proper to name, at first, two women for each of the four wards. It so happened that the appointments of women were about evenly divided as to those who were suffragists and those who were not. The appointments were mandatory. However, all seemed willing to do this work voluntarily, as their "bit," and no objections were raised by any of the women appointed, although they were required to remain at the registration places from 7 A.M. to 9 P.M. and in all of the four wards there were a number of negroes who had to be registered. Whether or not the women registrars were to be relieved of this duty by the men registrars or what special arrangements might be made to handle it was not apparent at the beginning. What was apparent was that even if the women were not to be relieved of it, they meant to do it with good grace and becoming dignity. From the beginning they were "game" to say the least.

Under appointment of the Association of Commerce, an organization of business men who are known to be cooperating with the county officials, other women were called upon to distribute all over town, in factories, shops, livery barns, stores, on telephone poles, etc., posters announcing the places of registration in the respective wards. They were especially urged to work thoroughly the negro sections. They responded willingly and did the work well. Not all of them were suffragists. When they returned their hammers and tacks after the work was completed, they showed no evidences of having lost any of their womanly graces.

The local chapter of the United Daughters of the Confederacy conceived the idea that they would like to badge each person registering with the national colors, and offered this service through the Association of Commerce. They were reminded that negroes would register as well as whites, and were asked to consider this matter. They considered it, and put in motion efforts to enlist the offices of some of the negro women for that part of the work.

The plans as outlined were carried to a successful finish in every detail. The badge idea originated by the United Daughters of the Confederacy was correlated with the giving out of the President's message. The women registrars were later increased to a total of fourteen. Booths were decorated with national colors, poster pictures of President Wilson were given out and, at Courthouse Ward, Dr. Anna Howard Shaw's picture was a popular companion piece alongside that of the President. The registration exceeded expectations, the total being 400 over the estimate based on the census. Red Cross women, stationed at booths to secure members and funds for the society, served lunches to all workers. The services of over thirty women teachers were availed of in making the duplicates of registration cards, as required by law, and the entire work of copying was complete on June 8.

From all which it should be apparent that although white men and women and negro men and women were found at various registration booths (voting precincts) south of the Mason and Dixon line, no race riot resulted, no presumption of social equality will follow, no woman was insulted, none was contaminated. The work was done properly and in orderly fashion, and if any revolution comes, it will be only a change of heart and mind upon the question of how far women can safely exercise the duties of citizenship.

Moslem Women Want Monogamy

IN Tomsk, Siberia, Moslem women at a mass meeting held early in May demanded that polygamy, as a tenet of religion as well as a practice, cease. Moslems make up 12 per cent. of the entire Russian population. If the Siberian Mohammedans free women it is unlikely that the seraglio will continue to exist among other followers of the prophet. The Provinces of Siberia, Turkestan, Bokhara, and the Caucasus, touching other parts of the Mohammedan world, may easily be points of contagion from which a new freedom will spread. Woman suffrage in Russia will do away with the harem and women's domestic enslavement.

Utah Women Volunteer for Jury Duty

WOMEN of Utah could hide behind the law and shirk jury duty all the time if they wanted to. But when it comes to doing their bit in community work good suffragists volunteer before they can be conscripted. The jury law of Utah provides that female citizens are exempt from jury duty, and the State District Attorney says that he has never known "women to be called for such service."

But there is nothing to prevent a conscientious woman over twenty-one, who can read and write, who pays her taxes, and is of reputable, sound mind from being a juror if she has a "call" to do so. Evidently some do feel such a call, and Mrs. Ella M. Hill, of Tremonton, has the honor of leading Utah women as jury volunteers. In December, 1915, she and thirty-six other women of Box Elder County were drawn for service by the jury commissioners. Four panels were drawn for the year 1916 and thirteen of the thirty-six women were chosen to serve in the following term. They served in both criminal and civil cases, and in two trials women were foremen of the juries, Mrs. Hill in one case and Mrs. J. T. Pitt in another.

In Kansas women are so ready to serve on juries that they defeated a bill designed especially to exempt them, although they may at any time, as the law now stands, plead their sex and be excused.

Book Review

"THE JUDGMENT OF THE ORIENT," K'ung Yuan Ku'suh. E. P. Dutton & Co. 60 cts.

K'ung Yuan Ku'suh, a Chinese writer, has a sex obsession that drives him into explaining the world war as a sex struggle in which the virile male nation, England, will eventually get a rightful supremacy over feminized Germany. If the opponents of women's progress would like to hold up a mirror to nature and see themselves as they really are they ought to read Mr. Ku'suh, whose name sounds like a gentle, ladylike sneeze. This Chinese gentleman hates women, not moderately and casually, but with a fervor and vindictiveness which suggest that he thinks a great deal about them. For one only hates with ardor what one might, by reversing the order, love rather madly.

"Men and women are natural enemies," says Mr. Ku'suh. "Man was made by nature a polygamist. The supreme demonstration of woman's craft, and of the superiority of instinct over reason, is that woman has imposed monogamy upon the greater part of the world." One wonders if subconsciously this Oriental writer has not betrayed the root of the opposition to woman's progress. Sulky and resisting, man finds himself a monogamist and hates it. He does not want women to have education; for, "education seems to increase the sex power of the female and to undermine the capacity of male resistance."

Here is the whole story in a nutshell: Give woman a chance and she will establish a stable society, with the male light-o-love running steadily in double harness! Awful, awful, awful! !

M. O. W.

Strong for Suffrage

The *Union Labor Bulletin*, of Little Rock, which is the official organ of the State Federation of Labor and the Farmers' State Union, is editorially strong for woman suffrage. "We believe the success of the movement is necessary to the permanent protection of our country mentally, morally, and socially, as well as financially." The two organizations represented by the *Bulletin* have urged equal rights upon the voters of the State. "And," say they, "we go out of our way to do so."

The Campaign in Maine

By Florence L. Nye

ARTHUR G. STAPLES, managing editor of the Lewiston *Journal*, is one of the strongest advocates for woman's suffrage in Maine, and, by the way, was converted by an address which he heard Dr. Anna Howard Shaw give before the Maine legislature several years ago.

In a recent talk before a representative gathering in Auburn, speaking of the present suffrage situation in Maine, Mr. Staples said that this is the crisis of democracy. From a world seething with war, from trenches where men stand knee-deep in blood and mire, and from reeking hospitals, where women watch and wait by day and night, there comes the mightiest call of all the ages for a new expression of democracy, which has no regard for sex, but which is based upon equality of service, equality of sacrifice, equality of danger and equality of destiny.

"It seems, therefore," he went on to say, "very strange to most men that in this hour particularly, with this nation of ours but a single month advanced into this war of the world, any true woman should hesitate to enter heart and soul into this campaign in Maine for a representation at the ballot box equal at least to that which we have in war.

"The nation gives women the right to work; to sew, to knit, to plant and to till the soil. It gives them the right to sacrifice. It gives them the right to rear and educate sons whom they are privileged to send to the war with a farewell kiss, their prayer, and their blessing. It gives them the right to submit equally with men to this enormous new burden of taxation. It gives them the right to give up their lives in hospitals and in the fever camps. In fact, it gives them every right and privilege except the right to declare by their vote whether or not this nation shall enter upon the war of which they are so vitally and essentially a factor.

"Not that I assume that even by their stronger sentiment for peace they would be less patriotic than men, but in this hour when we are battling for final victory of a government of the people, by the people and for the people as against a government of the Kaiser, by the Kaiser and for the Kaiser, it does seem to me that no such step should be taken without the consent and approval of the 10,000,000 persons of voting age, who are qualified by intelligence and by sentiment and by deep community interest, to cast a vote in the interest of humanity and good government. Such a condition seems to me to be monstrous, inhuman, irrational and inconceivably unjust."

The Portland *Argus* commenting editorially upon the situation says, "Maine's suffrage campaign this summer from all appearances will be fairly lively despite the serious military business the nation has on hand. Public sentiment on the issue may be divided into three classes —in favor, opposed, indifferent—and of the two from which the vote will come in September the first is obviously the greater."

The Maine suffrage campaign is already lively. Three National organizers, Miss L. Lola Walker of Pittsburg, Pa.; Mrs. Albert McMahon of Virginia, and Miss Eudora Ramsey of South Carolina, are at work in the State, and a fourth, Miss Trax, will be in the field within a few weeks.

Besides these National representatives, Mrs. Katharine H. Millard, representing the Massachusetts Suffrage Association, and Mrs. Mary Grace Canfield, for the Vermont Suffrage Association, are doing effective work and no one is working harder "days and nights and Sundays" for the bringing about of the ballot to women in Maine than that remarkable leader and orator, Mrs. Deborah Knox Livingston of Bangor, chairman of the State Campaign Committee.

Within the past month Mrs. Livingston has been in every county in the State and has not only addressed large audiences and, thereby, won many converts, but has been able to feel the pulse of the people over the entire State, and she feels remarkably encouraged as to the situation.

Very nearly one hundred local campaign committees have been organized and all these are at work arranging meetings, distributing literature, placing posters, and otherwise pushing forward the cause of suffrage.

The Maine Methodists, the Maine Universalists, and the Maine Federation of Labor at recent annual meetings have endorsed the ballot for women.

And the women of Maine, who desire to secure the ballot on September 10, are receiving the staunch support of many influential men of the State. Hon. Robert Treat Whitehouse of Portland, son of former Chief Justice William Penn Whitehouse, is chairman of the Men's Equal Suffrage League of the State, and the vice-presidents are C. S. Stetson, a former master of the Maine State Grange; Hon. William R. Pattangall, a leading Democrat, and former Attorney-General; Congressman Ira G. Hersey, a Republican. Leonard A. Pierce of Houlton, Hiram W. Ricker of Poland Spring, Hon. John A. Peters of Ellsworth, Alton C. Wheeler of South Paris, Hon. Obadiah Gardner of Rockland, and Senator Bert M. Fernald of Poland are also prominently identified with the movement.

Our Own Suffrage Garden

"I am so proud and so pleased with the new periodical that I want to see it in the hands of every person who can in any way be reached. Please accept my congratulations on the first issue" is the comment of Miss Lillian L. Huffcut.

* * *

"Received the WOMAN CITIZEN with open arms," writes Mrs. Fred Patterson, of Sioux City, Iowa. "Will love it for the sake of its dear, never-to-be-forgotten pioneer forbear, the *Woman's Journal*. Thanks for the promise that we shall still have our A. S. B. We know that with this paper you will help win suffrage for Iowa and the U. S. A."

* * *

"I must tell you how perfectly charmed I am with the WOMAN CITIZEN," says Miss Ellen Robinson, of Strasburg, Virginia. "Instead of losing a friend in giving up the beloved *Journal*, I have gained *two*, in 'A. S. B.' and 'Rose Young.' Please don't let me miss a single copy!"

* * *

Mrs. Emma F. Fish, of East Orange, says, "Please let me compliment you on the reincarnation of the *Woman's Journal*. It's all right in every way. When you changed it the last time I told you it was not attractive and so I guess it proved. As I was on the negative side last time, I felt you must have much praise this time."

* * *

Mrs. F. P. Bagley, of Boston, writes: "A thousand congratulations on the WOMAN CITIZEN. I have seen dozens of Massachusetts suffragists today and they unite in their praise and pleasure in its dignified and inviting appearance."

* * *

"I have just received first copy and am delighted with it and hope I shall be able to send in a number of new subscribers," comes from Mrs. W. C. Cathcart, of Columbia, South Carolina.

* * *

"The first issue of the *Woman Citizen*, the new suffrage weekly, which is an amalgamation of the *Woman's Journal*, the *Woman Voter* and the *National Suffrage News*, appeared last Saturday. It is a live, wide-awake, interesting magazine, containing much suffrage news, as well as instructive articles, and must be regarded as a welcome addition to suffrage literature. It is gotten out by the Leslie Woman Suffrage commission, under the editorship of Rose Young and Alice Stone Blackwell, a number of well-known suffrage writers contributing. The first issue, which achieved the almost unprecedented record of being sold out on the day of its appearance, is a credit to its editors." Thus the friendly comment of the New York *Call* in its issue of June 4.

Pennsylvania's Woman Suffrage Defeat

Seen Through Pennsylvania's Own Eyes

The experiences of a war will probably be necessary in order to convince our statesmen that we cannot get along without woman's help, whether in a state of belligerency or in times of civic peace. The opponents to the suffrage have learned this lesson in Great Britain; feminism is about to issue triumphant from the fire of conflict in free Russia; and Pennsylvania's solons are going to be converted, too.

Philadelphia (Pa.) Record.

The fact is, suffrage was simply knifed. The time looked ripe and politicians took advantage of the situation. Pennsylvania will be about the last State in the union to espouse any of the great questions which other States have already embraced. She defeated suffrage because to have adopted it would have interfered with the workings of a well-oiled political machine. And when the great prohibition question comes up, if it is ever permitted to come up, it will be defeated for the same good political reason.

Connellsville (Pa.) News.

Only a very short-sighted and narrow-minded statesman would oppose equal suffrage today. Even Russia, a republic of a few days, proposes not only to enfranchise its women, but also to make them eligible for the very highest offices. War has done for the women of Great Britain what militancy could not do—win a promise of equal franchise. But Pennsylvania—Pennsylvania whose resources will form the backbone of preparedness, and whose women will do as much as the women anywhere for the cause—denies the electors of the State the privilege of saying whether or not they approve of granting women the ballot. Every argument that can be urged in favor of male suffrage, every reason that exists why men should have the right to vote, applies with equal force to women. The house did not treat the women fairly.

Altoona (Pa.) Mirror.

The war has helped the cause of equal suffrage in England by exhibiting conspicuously the resourcefulness and helpfulness of women in a great national struggle. Perhaps our war will prove big enough to engage the women of the country so earnestly and seriously, and in a large way helping the cause of their country, as to make the withholding of the right of suffrage from them too mean for men to maintain without loss of self-respect.

Philadelphia (Pa.) Press.

Suffragists have had nothing in this State, and for that reason they could lose nothing. Treacherous influences have merely given the move another setback, which makes all the more certain and complete the victory which time will bring. The fight has been worth all it cost in time and effort, because it has smoked out suffrage enemies, and they are now in the open where they can be seen and watched. The suffragists are not defeated. They have again been denied justice by interests that fear justice, and it will be two years at least before they can make another appeal to the high court. But they mean to have justice, and they will get it despite the tremendous power of reactionary influences which now control the State legislative body.

Pittsburg (Pa.) Leader.

Women are having a hard fight to win what is their right. If a thing is worth possessing it is worth fighting for, however, and one defeat is but the prelude to another and more vigorous campaign. Each year sees the cause of woman suffrage become more generally accepted. The avowed enemies of the enlarged franchise grow fewer in numbers and their opposition decreases in force. As women have won in the West, so they will win in the East, but it requires time, and the advocates should take heart and bravely keep on fighting in the forceful manner distinctive of those who know they are right and are convinced that their cause is to be won by reason.

Pittsburg (Pa.) Sun.

But victory is sure; the spirit of the whole world heralds it. The great war, which has brought liberation to the women of tradition-bound Britain and backward Russia cannot fail to have the same quickening influence here; for this is a conflict to defend and strengthen democracy, to the complete and rational fulfillment of which equal suffrage is necessary. Our candid belief is that it will not be requisite to have another popular vote on this question in Pennsylvania—that it will be settled nationally before the time for such a test arrives. But the champions of the principle should take nothing for granted. They should carry on their campaign ceaselessly and relentlessly.

Philadelphia (Pa.) North-American.

But now, while the glory of the pioneer might yet be hers, Pennsylvania lingers in the rear and willfully turns her face from the light. How much longer will she seek to resist the progress of a righteous movement which her opposition may hinder but never check? The time is coming when the reputation of having been among the "black" States will be a State memory that is anything but pleasant.

Philadelphia Public Ledger.

(Continued from page 50)

Of course, it got all Grafton annually excited. And from Grafton annually the news went out over Vermont. It seeped down into Boston papers and over into the New York press. Year in and year out Vermont's "object lesson" has been right there, until at last the day has dawned when Miss Daniels's spirited fight on that particular brand of democracy which can eliminate one-half the people, and still try to stand on one leg and talk government of, for and by the people, is over so far as municipal taxes are concerned.

A SUMMER SUFFRAGE BOOK!

HEAR what Mrs. Catt and Alice Stone Blackwell have to say, then ask your local suffrage headquarters to order a dozen copies. Telephone your friends to go to the headquarters and buy them for summer-pleasure and for suffrage-propaganda, for this delightful book combines both qualities—or tell your book dealer to order a dozen copies. Then see to it that he has a lively trade in "renting pedestals." Just the thing to put in a friend's traveling bag when she goes away this summer. Don't miss a good laugh, or let your friends who may be on the fence miss a chance to tumble off—cheerfully—

FOR RENT—ONE PEDESTAL

By Marjorie Shuler

Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt says:

"Marjorie Shuler's book, 'For Rent—One Pedestal,' is readable, amusing, entertaining, instructive. It produces smiles, tears and indignation, with varying degrees of other emotions to fill the chinks—and all within the covers of a small book—Read it!"

Alice Stone Blackwell says:

"Every suffragist ought to invest in at least two copies of this book, one for pleasure and the other for propaganda. It is rich and rare and racy, a regular treasure-house of good laughs. Every woman who has either taken part in a suffrage campaign or sympathized with one will want to read it for her own sake, for the pure pleasure of it; and when she has read it, she will want to buy as many extra copies as she can afford and pass them on, to excite comment. For some persons who cannot be convinced by wisdom or argument, can be won over by fun; and it is impossible for anybody to read this account of one girl's campaign experiences without laughter. It is well written and with such verisimilitude that the successive scenes seem to stand out visibly before us. Miss Shuler is to be congratulated upon a real achievement."

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HISTORICAL

The National American Woman Suffrage Association was formed February 17, 1890, by the union of the National Woman Suffrage Association (organized in 1869) and the American Woman Suffrage Association (organized in 1869).

The organization was incorporated on April 16, 1890, under the laws of the District of Columbia by Susan B. Anthony, Vice-President; Jane H. Spofford, Treasurer, and Lucia E. Blount.

PURPOSE

The object of this Association shall be to secure protection, in their right to vote, to the women citizens of the United States, by appropriate National and State legislation.

EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

The Executive Council consists of the Directors of the Association, the Chairmen of Standing and Special Committees, the Presidents of Affiliated suffrage organizations and one member from each Affiliated organization which pays dues on a membership of 1,500 or more.

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70 Fifth Ave., New York

National Council of Women Voters

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National Men's League

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Mr. James Lees Laidlaw
26 Broadway, New York City

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